- 6. Patrones tradicionales y emergentes: Your task is to look at traditional snacking and mealtime practices in your target country, including schedules. For Spain, 1) explain briefly how the daily meals are organized and of what they consist, then teach the custom of tapear: give examples of types of tapas and the "rules of the game" as given on the websites; 2) teach the class about emerging trends in Spain such as what is happening to the siesta, how/why "fast food" (including the restaurante en casa movement) is gaining popularity and what type of fast food is not as popular. For Peru, 1) explain how daily meals are organized and of what they consist, what/when are "snacks" consumed; then describe what changes seem to be occurring in eating habits, according to recent surveys—are there some traditional foods that are emerging as less popular? 2) teach the class about the role of food franchises (franquicias) in Peru (both foreign and national) and the reaction they have received from urban and rural markets. Explain what is meant by tropicalización.
- 7. El paladar peruanolespañol. We all have different tastes in foods as individuals; but our culture also, in a way, programs us to accept some foods and not others. Your task is to explore the idea of "taste" in Spain and Peru. 1) You will study typical dishes of your regions, focusing on those that are not at all typical in the U.S, or whose ingredients may strike those of your culture's programming as "odd" (e.g. menudo (mondongo), morcilla, pulpo, cuy, anticucho). Research how people have described their taste. Devise a survey to see how many of your classmates would try these foods; propose to the class some types of food eaten in the U.S that might produce a similar reaction in populations from your target country. 2) Research how some U.S. food industries (e.g. McDonald's, Coca-Cola, Kentucky Fried Chicken) have adapted their menus to appeal more to the tastes of their consumers in Spain and Peru.

In follow-up to class discussions on the seven Ps of food-as-product analysis, students were given the following comment from Spanish chef Ferrán Adria: Comer es uno de los mejores placeres, porque utilizamos los cinco sentidos; al excitarlos comiendo hace que podamos emocionarnos con varios sentidos a la vez. 12 With this statement in mind, they were to choose one of the following summative tasks:

1. You work for a fast-food franchise operation in the U.S. that wishes to expand its market into Spain and/or Peru (if you presented on Spain, your target country will be Peru, and vice-versa). The company has solicited your ideas regarding a new menu offering that will appeal to the tastes and lifestyles of the market in either of these countries. You are aware that one U.S.-based fast-food chain, for example, offers calamares on its menu in Spain and anticucho on its menu in Peru. The new menu item you propose must meet the criteria of low cost, efficient preparation, and mass local appeal. To "sell" your new menu item to the international managers who will be present at the meeting, you will want to prepare an ad that will appeal to the culture and also evoke "varios sentidos a la vez": texture, taste, aroma, sound, eye-appeal. Reflect in your ad what you've learned from your classmates about food-as-product. Show your ability to use the subjunctive at least three different ways and include also at least three command forms.

2. In your analysis of what we eat in the U.S., you have seen that we can take a "food product" and, from it, derive a certain self—awareness of our own culture. Show how you have become more aware of the significance of food in Peru or Spain by creating an "ode" in the style of those of Pablo Neruda. Your topic may be a specific food item, a particular dish, or it may be any other related topic such as el mercado or el tapeo. Your poem must evoke at least four senses: texture, taste, aroma, sound, image and must reflect the culture's own associations and internal connections, as you are aware of them.

In this orientation to the what of foods in Spain and Peru, it was impossible to separate "product" from "practice" as the meaning of products resides in the practice or activity within which they are contextualized through functional, meaningful use. [See Bacon and Humbach; Humbach; Heusinkveld; Vidal; all this volume, for more discussion of products-in-practice.] However, just as there is no simple relationship between product and meaning, no observation of product-in-practice will inform solely about one aspect of culture; moreover, just as the notion of product is not confined to tangible objects, the notion of practice is not confined to physical or observable action. Nor again is it merely the observation of practices that differ obviously from one's own that triggers the judgment of "weirdness" in the observer. Our perception is shaped by many things we are not even aware of and feeling the full force and tenacity of our own perspectives will require experiencing them in dialogic interaction. Even then, our own culture's frame of reference sets, in a way, not only our interpretive parameters, but our very perceptual parameters and, ironically, leads us to experience the most conflict in the most seemingly familiar situations.

For example, we are living abroad with a host family. The things that are noticeably different from our own routines are relatively easy for us to adapt to, because we can focus on them and consciously adjust: mealtimes, for example, or different foods. But the rest seems so "familiar": the greeting we receive when we enter the home, the mother's indulgence, the conversation and laughter, the questions, the insistence on second and third helpings of dishes, the constant support, encouragement, patience, etc. It feels like "home"—it is a setting we know well in our own world, one for which we easily transfer our own culture's script and feel very comfortable. But, as Trompenaars and colleague point out, "culture is like gravity: you do not experience it until you jump six feet into the air" (p. 5). Through our own cultural upbringing we develop as individuals a sense of behavioral norm as well as a certain idiosyncratic-acceptance range, but the values in which these are rooted give them their weight; conflicting values find compromise. The result is a unique sense-making system that, while beckoning us to observe the differences amongst us, effectively limits our vision to those things we have considered, and in the way that we have considered them. Just as our students cannot define what they mean by 'competition' or 'pride,' let alone encase these meanings in foreign words, no simple English translation or culture-note description can convey the depth and breadth of familia in practice.

Data collected by González (this volume) indicate that it was precisely this contexto familiar, and especially mealtime etiquette, that left Spaniards misinterpreting their guest-students' behaviors. Indeed, since "la mesa es uno de los lugares donde más clara y prontamente se revela el grado de edu-

cación y de cultura de una persona" (Carreño), table etiquette may be one of the first clusters of foodin-practice learnings addressed in class. [See Appendix B for websites detailing table etiquette in different part of the Hispanic world.] The use of audio-motor units to teach culturally appropriate manners, as González suggests, could be conducted amidst the following "wraparound" activities.

List on transparency a series of table behaviors—some appropriate, some inappropriate—in Spanish infinitive form, such as in the example. In whole- or small-group fashion, have students indicate which of these they (or others they know) sometimes or always do at the table. For example: Sí, yo a veces me quito los zapatos. Write student names beside each, as they contribute.

Quitarse los zapatos Juan
Peinarse Julia, la tía de Andrea
Estirarse Andy
Pasar el tenedor a la mano derecha todos
Cortar más de un trozo a la vez
Elogiar la comida

Servirse las porciones Comer en silencio Hablar de la política Poner los codos en la mesa Mantener la mano izquierda sobre la rodilla Levantarse después de comer

After teaching how table etiquette differs in the culture under study, use the same transparency and have students "correct" each others' behaviors in the most pragmatically appropriate form—formal or familiar commands or, in the case of tta Julia above, a polite and subtle suggestion.

- -Juan, estamos en...[país] No te quites los zapatos (Ponte los zapatos)
- —Señorita Julia, yo también quisiera arreglarme (peinarme). ¿Por que no vamos al servicio?
- -Compañeros, estamos en... [país] No pasen el tenedor a la mano derecha.

Levi-Strauss has said that food is the soul of all cultures, as in all societies eating is the first form of initiating and maintaining human relations: Knowing the what, where, how, when and with whom of eating is knowing the nature of that society. In fact, in one brainstorming session, students developed the following list of associations with "food"—issues, questions they needed to answer in order to be aware of basic food practices in the other culture (Table 3).

## Table 3. Food as Product and Practice

#### What

Geography, products

Mealtime characteristics

Snacks, treats
Tastes, preferences

Convenience

Taboos and prohibitions Celebratory/festival foods

Religious foods

Ethnicity, race Regional affiliation

Socioeconomic status

Gender Age

Good and bad

Right and wrong (not food)

Trend foods

Rigid v. flexible patterns

Packaging/labeling/marketing

Import/export foods
Animals as food

Food as self-image Concepts of nutrition

Fast foods

Courses and servings

Buying: markets/supermarkets

History/traditions

Act of choosing

"Healthy"/"unhealthy" foods

Food as "ugly" or "fat"

Leftovers, waste, recycling Genetically altered foods

Food availability

Seasonings/condiments

Portion sizes

Food and laws (e.g. FDA)

Food as gift

Food as healing, "medicine" or remedy

### When

Mealtime norms What is hunger? What is "full"?

Rigid/flexible scheduling

Order of courses
Celebrations/holidays
Denying/accepting offers

Non-mealtime eating patterns

Food events

Preparation periods

Meal duration

Table-stay duration

When is shopping? Who

Dinner table authority

Server/serving order
Gender taboos

Food preparers
Men/women roles

Food sharing Beauty/body image

Eater stereotypes

Home guest-diner behavior

Waiter/customer discourse

Host/guest discourse Family roles/responsibilities

Praising/complaining
Assisting in kitchen

Eating disorders
Food as status

Who associated with foods

#### Where

Restaurant protocols
Food prep. spaces/places
Fast-food establishments

Home dining patterns

Where is eating prohibited?

Food eating spaces

Car dining/TV dining Food purchasing/storing

Food gathering places

Guest/host behavior

Restaurant sanitation

Leftovers, food disposal Treatment of waiters

Types of restaurants

Who sits where?

How

Table etiquette

Refusing/accepting servings

Self-serving protocol
What to leave on plate

Table talk, topics

Table talk, topics

Overeating/undereating
Weighing, measuring quantities

Menu ordering

Waiter/customer discourse

Using utensils
Finger foods?

Market bargaining Tipping protocols

Politeness, courtesy

Requesting, passing food Clearing plates

How foods are prepared

Food storage

To begin examination of food-as-practice, we may once again start with a self-awareness phase in which students in pairs or groups of three select one of the topics from the "product and practice" inventory (Table 3) and work together to devise brief surveys, open questionnaires or agree/disagree statements for use in interviewing classmates and others outside class. In addition, certain structures may be targeted for practice through format requirements such as the following (or, literally, any other):

- 1. The requirement that each question begin with a different question word, with no yes/no questions allowed.
- 2. The requirement that the survey instrument be phrased in terms of past time, using preterit/imperfect, or in terms of experience-summarizing, using present perfect.
- 3. The requirement that items be phrased in terms of present subjunctive (Es mejor/ precisolimportante/imprescindible que... or Como ... a menos que.../con tal de que...etc. or any other subjunctive use).
- 4. The requirement that questions be phrased in terms of passive se (En casa, se cena...)

In studying the ways of mealtimes in the Hispanic world, students will encounter practices that reflect quite different values systems from those of mainstream U.S. One of these practices that seems particularly difficult for students to understand is that of the importance of mealtime as reflected in the rhythm of a typical day. Whereas perhaps students' own notions of mealtime may be rather amorphous—shoved into a fixed schedule of projects, work or studies obligations, or even TV programming, they will see through such practices as the sobremesa or even the midday dinner and siesta period in some cultures, that mealtime tends to have a more prominent role in Hispanic cultures, even in some cases presenting itself as the core of daily scheduling (see Humbach, this volume, for discussion of "schedules" as products). The following is a sample activity progression that may be used to help students activate their own cultural framework while at the same time becoming sensitized to the possibility that other cultures may have other preferences and other ways, arising from other perspectives.

1. Practices and preferences. The purpose of this activity is to help students evoke a U.S. cultural framework for the notion of "dinner" that includes attention to intracultural variation and changing patterns. Through the "then/now" structure, students make comparisons between their past or childhood and their present, and assess their preferences. As students talk, write key words that come up on the board, in preparation for the following step. All questions and responses should be in Spanish, using vocabulary appropriate to the cultural region under study, and may be used in teacher-whole class interviewing or in student-student group interviewing and reporting.

¿Dónde y con quién(es)?

Actualmente: Where do you typically eat dinner? Lunch? Why?

What days are different?

Antes, cuando eras pequeño(a): Where did you eat dinner?

Lunch?

Why? What days were different?

¿Cuál prefieres?

¿A qué hora? Actualmente: What time do you eat dinner? Lunch? Why?

What days are different?

Antes, cuando eras pequeño(a): What time did you eat dinner?

Lunch? Why? What days were different?

¿Cuál prefieres?

¿Cuánto tiempo? Actualmente: How much time do you spend eating dinner?

Lunch? Why? What days are different?

Antes: How much time did you spend eating dinner? Lunch?

Why? What days were different?

¿Cuál prefieres?

¿Qué? Actualmente: What do you typically eat for dinner? Lunch?

Why? What days are different?

Antes: What did you typically eat for dinner? Lunch? Why?

What days were different?

¿Cuál prefieres?

- 2. Practices and perspectives. Follow up on these discussions to draw some conclusions regarding U.S. culture perspectives and values in preparation for learning about those of a different culture. Divide students into groups and give each group one of the following questions to analyze and report back to class. Take notes on the board as students report and, when the discussion has ended, transpose the board notes to a transparency for use in later activities. [Questions should be in Spanish. In a more advanced class, you may wish to give the topics/ questions in English for students to ask in Spanish.]
- a. To what extent does schedule control meal habits? Why? Which meal habits does it control (Dónde, con quién... etc.)? How? Which is more important to you, the schedule or the meal? Why? Imagine you can control the schedule; will you change your meal habits in any way? How? Why?
- **b.** To what extent does distance control meal habits? Why? Which meal habits does it control? How? Imagine you can control the distance; will you change your meal in any way? How?
- c. Other than satisfying hunger, what role(s) do mealtime and dining play in your life?

The Matter of Perspective

How important is this role to you? Why? Are any of these roles more important, less important, or as important as satisfying hunger?

- d. What do you like most about U.S. lifestyle regarding "lunch" or "dinner" as we have described it in our discussions? What do you like least? Imagine you can change one thing...what will it be, and how will you change it?
- e. In our discussion, we have described U.S. "meals" in terms of both typical customs and variations—in other words, the "meal world" that we know. In which areas (qué, dónde, con quién(es), etc.) might you expect to find differences in a culture that is not that of the U.S.? How do you think you will react to these differences? Which area of difference would probably most difficult for you to adapt to? Least difficult? Why?
- f. Think about a time here in your own country that you observed someone do something at a meal that you found "strange." Prepare a description of the incident for the class. Why did you find it strange? What norm or "script" did the behavior violate, in your view? Do you think a foreigner might have made an assumption about the U.S. from seeing the same thing you did? [This question is included in order to provoke discussion of the consequences of facile generalization.]

Questions such as these ask students not only to call up eating patterns in their own culture, but to explore the why's of these patterns in terms of schedule (on what basis is a schedule formed and how does this reflect our sense of what is more important and what is less important?); distance (what does distance reflect about our living patterns and about what we value?); and the role of meals themselves (are meals to satisfy hunger or to commune with others?). Moreover, through these questions, students are asked to think about "difference" in several ways: First, they are asked to consider the differences that lie within our own culture and even within the group of the classroom. Second, they are asked to consider difference in terms of the time periods and changes that occur in the life of an individual. Third, they are asked to consider difference as a matter of preference—the students who responded to these questions, for example, almost unanimously expressed a longing for relaxed family dinnertime and relief from the pressure of schedules. Fourth, they are asked to consider difference in terms of their own reaction to it—how they or others might tend to generalize on the basis of one observation of it. Perhaps exposed and unraveled in this way, "difference" is not so strange after all; in fact, it may be the greatest thing we all have in common.

Once students have activated the fullness of their own cultural framework and individual preferences on the notion of meals and mealtimes, receptivity to the exploration of another value system is greatly enhanced. For the purposes of examining in-culture meanings of products-in-practice in the cultures of the Hispanic world, input can come from any *authentic* source, such as other-country web pages, photos (including textbook photos), video clips, films, fine art, newspapers, literature and so on. For beginning students, restaurant menus such as those available on the Internet will often provide infor-

mation about the norms for mealtime hours. For intermediate students who will likely already have some general knowledge of meal schedules, the first step will be to activate this information through the standard what, when, how, who, why categories. However, with both groups of learners, there is likely to be some misinterpretation of the *perspectives* underlying these observable practices, of the *variability* of norms across Hispanic cultures, and especially of the *changing nature* of the practices themselves and the circumstances from which these changes are arising. Around the Hispanic world, for example, the traditional extended mid-afternoon meal + *siest*a is undergoing many such changes. To exemplify this:

Have students individually or in pairs conduct an Internet search of la siesta as a time of day in various countries (siesta mexicanalespañola/peruana, etc.) to explore and compare across cultures a) its hours and its purpose; b) its perceived health benefits; c) the extent to which its rhythms are institutionalized in shop/office closings; d) its variability between rural and urban areas; e) the why's of its changing nature or abandonment; f) the in-culture reactions to these changes. (See Appendix B, Patrones emergentes, for a few such websites on changing practices).

To explore meanings underlying particular practices and encourage reflection and divergent thinking, two columns may be written on the board, adjusted as to the national culture being observed, with students encouraged to contribute as many hypotheses as they can for each behavior. This very simple technique can be used to analyze virtually anything—from a sign, to a gesture, to an overheard phrase, to a conversation fragment, to a literature excerpt. Here, it is not "right or wrong" answers that are our focus (as students will hypothesize both and the most "authentic" explanation can usually be selected from the options students creatively propose); rather, the goal is to encourage thought "outside the box" of one's own culture, to equip students to consider multiple interpretations and explanations for any practice observed. It can also be used, as in the following example, to help students apply learnings to distinguish between the generalizable and idiosyncratic in their observations.

### Observable behavior

# Possible meanings

A Madrid store sign says "cerrado" but it's only 2:00 pm A Madrid store sign says "cerrado" but it only 10:00 am ?? ??

In Spain, you are invited to a home for a 10:00 cena In Spain, you are invited to a home for a 6:00 cena

According to Scollon and Scollon, the goal of culture teaching is not merely to have students mimic behaviors, but rather to withhold the fast judgment or reaction of annoyance to see the interpretive possibilities of each situation, "to find ways to work together even when we know the other does not fully understand or appreciate our point of view or our values" (285).

While techniques such as these can help students develop the capacity for multiple interpreta-

tions of observed practices, often one of the most effective techniques for helping students grasp the point of view behind these practices is having them defend another point of view:

Divide the class in half—one half represents the perspective of "U.S. culture;" the other represents the perspective of xx culture. Using a transparency of "differences" students have noted between U.S. practices and those of the other culture, have "nationality" groups alternate asking provocative questions of the other. Encourage active participation for all members of both groups; pose follow-up questions and mediate responses—not to defend either culture's practices, but simply to show how each makes sense within its own perspective. Whenever possible, bring in students' comments from the self-awareness phase of analysis to remind them of their own perspectives and their statements of preference or of what they might wish to change about U.S. lifestyle.

U.S. group		XX (Hispanic) culture group
¿Por qué pasanUds. tanto	<del></del>	¿ Por qué comen Uds. tan rápido?
tiempo en la comida?		
¿Por qué comen Uds. XXX?	<b>←</b>	¿Por qué les encantan las hamburguesas?
¿Por qué cenan Uds. tan tarde?	$\leftarrow \rightarrow$	¿Por qué cenan Uds. tan temprano?

In every culture there is some semblance of mealtime rules and rituals. While these may or may not be strictly adhered to by individuals, families, or groups, given the role of mealtime in Hispanic cultures, building sensitivity to the possibility (or probability) of cross-cultural difference in mealtime protocols is called for. Indeed, González (this volume) notes that some Spanish host families were, in fact, irritated by the mealtime behaviors of their U.S. student-visitors, whereas the students themselves seemed to be quite unaware that they had violated any cultural norms. The following is one such comment that relates to the appropriate protocols of accepting/declining meal invitations and food offerings in Spain.

...tienen que entender que cuando una madre de una casa les insiste mucho, no es que les quiere molestar, sino porque aquí en España se insiste, porque hasta que no haces tres veces una invitación, la otra persona no se siente autorizada para ir, ;no? Aquí dices "ven a casa a comer" y tú "no, no, no," "que sí hombre, ven," "no, no, no" "por favor, ven." Entonces ya vas, o sea pocas veces aceptas a la primera invitación. (González, this volume)

While in the U.S. students' culture, offerings of second or third helpings of food are taken literally as "Do you want more?" to which the individual, assessing his or her own desires, responds truthfully with 'yes, please' or 'no, thank you,' Vázquez & Bueso point out that Spanish host/guest protocol is typically composed of a series of insistences and refusals. Immediate acceptance of an offer to "tomar algo"—before the host has had the opportunity to insist—gives the impression of "maleducados" or "jetas;" outright rejection of such offers may cast the person as "soso," "hoño," "desagradable y brusco;" moreover, to respond by saying what one would like is tantamount to treat-

ing the host as "camarero." Since in any visit to a Spanish home, perhaps even to pick up a friend, the offering of food and/or drink will be typical, the authors provide the following sample series of exchanges, noting that a guest's refusal of an offering must be accompanied by a reason and that, in this refusal, the intonation is, of course, crucial.

Te van a invitar a tomar algo. No se puede decir sí la primera vez. La persona de la casa va a insistir. Cuando se acepta hay que quitar importancia a la elección o dejar que elija el antifirión. Si no quieres nada tienes que decir la razon, tienes que justificarte; en general no está socialmente bien visto no tomar nada por lo que hay que dar buenas razones para ello.

Host offers: ;Quiere(s) tomar algo? / ;Qué te/le pongo?

Guest refuses: No, no, gracias

Host repeats offer: ;Te(Le) pongo un café?

Guest refuses: No, de verdad, no quiero nada, muchas gracias.

Host repeats offer: Un té, o una coca-cola entonces.

Guest refuses and offers excuse:

Guest accepts, leaving host option:

Que no, que no, de verdad, es que... Se(te) lo agradezco, pero lo que pasa es que...

Bueno, vale, ponme (póngame) lo que quiera(s).

Bueno, pues venga, lo que usted/tú tome(s)

De acuerdo, un cafecito, pero si no es mucha molestia, si tienes, si no, cualquier cosa.

As language is the product of a culture, discourse is that language in practice within the cultural community and, as data collected by García (this volume) also illustrate, the discourses of real-life contexts are often quite different from those of our textbooks and classrooms. Exchanges such as the one provided here can be used to great advantage in the classroom, not only as illustrations of protocols but as practice of the linguistic gambits of communication (e.g., the intensifier "que no;" the softener "lo que pasa es que...") and meanings conveyed by intonation. Likewise, such models can serve as the skeletal base for students to express what they have learned about the culture. In the case given here, for example, students might expand on the discourse sample provided by Vázquez and Bueso through the following types of activities.

- 1) Focus on products. Consider what you have learned about typical foods in Spain. With your partner, enact the dialog of host and dinner guest, offering some of these foods.
- 2) Focus on practices. From what you know about the role of food in Spain, in which of the following circumstances might an offer of food or drink be expected:
  - a) you have gone to a classmate's residence to pick up class notes
  - b) you have a meeting with a classmate; since you haven't had time for lunch, you take a sandwich to your meeting.

- c) as a dinner guest in a home, you have had servings of each of the dishes and are now full.
- 3) Focus on perspectives. From what you know about your own culture and the culture of Spain, which of the following excuses for declining a food offer would or would not be perceived favorably:
  - a) I'm sorry, I don't have time. I'm in a hurry.
  - b) No, please, I really don't like...(X food).
  - c) I've already eaten. Maybe next time.
  - d) It's delicious, but I just can't eat any more.

In this section, we have only scratched the surface of exploring the meaning of products, practices, and products-in-practice; in fact, perhaps all we have done is show the depth of their cultural entanglement. Indeed, in assessing our treatment of this explicit layer of a culture, we might ask ourselves whether our classroom efforts are directed toward fostering a sense of the "thickness" of its internal significance and variability. Rather than give students pat mantras such as "la comidal familia es muy importante" and rather than hand them answers and pre-compiled information about a culture, and we can provoke curiosity, promote inquiry and create opportunities for learners to discover the culture, build strategies for accessing other viewpoints through critical thinking so that, through their own mistakes and misinterpretations, learners begin to discover themselves. Our aim in teaching for intercultural communication should be to help students continually construct and evaluate their own maps, through an ever-refining awareness of place, through an ever-evolving sense of the complexities of their own identity, and through the ever-growing skills and strategies of way-finding.

The "logic" of one culture's products and practices is not accessed through another culture's values. While helping students expose their own mental maps sensitizes them to the probable existence of other mental maps, it does not avoid the proverbial question of "why?" Unfortunately why is, in essence, a logic-demanding question. And in typical catch-22 fashion, what is "logical" in terms of human behavior depends on one's cultural self. Products and practices alone are like the dots of a pointillist painting; capturing their scene is a matter of perspective.